A Paradigm for the Study of Intergroup Interactions

A Senior Honors Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for graduation
With distinction in Psychology in the undergraduate colleges
of The Ohio State University

by

Dorey M. Meslemani

The Ohio State University
July 2004

Project Adviser: Professor Russell H. Fazio, Department of Psychology

Abstract

Contact between members of two different groups can lead to anxiety and discomfort in interactions. In this experiment, eighty non-Black undergraduate college students were led to believe that they interacted with both a Black and White male via video email. During the interaction, analysis of the participants' verbal and nonverbal behaviors were measured for signs of discomfort and negativity as a function of racial attitudes. A priming measure of attitudes and a motivation to control prejudice reactions scale were completed in earlier sessions. Participants showed more discomfort interacting with the Black male confederate than the White male confederate, especially participants with negative racial attitudes who were motivated to control prejudiced reactions. The consequence of this discomfort may have an important impact on the quality of intergroup contact.

A Paradigm for the Study of Intergroup Interactions

History has shown that conflict between two different groups arises for many reasons, such as religion, race, sexuality, and territory. In America, race has been an issue for over four hundred years, first with slavery and then with segregation. Today prejudice still occurs, though often in less obvious behavior (Devine, 1989). Prejudice and intergroup anxiety can lead to various kinds of intergroup conflict (Allport, 1954). While conflict can come in obvious forms, such as violence and verbal aggression, today's non-prejudiced norms suggest that such conflict might manifest in subtler ways. Moreover, many Whites desire to avoid prejudice, but continue to feel anxious around non-Whites (Devine, Evett, & Vasquex-Suson, 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). This avoidance may lead to levels of anxiety. The research reported here examines verbal (e.g. stuttering, hesitation to speak) and nonverbal (anxiety and/or discomfort) manifestations of conflict and anxiety during intergroup interactions.

Most solutions proposed for reducing intergroup conflict and anxiety revolve around the contact hypothesis. In its simplest form, the contact hypothesis states that in order to reduce prejudice and conflict, the two groups must come into contact under certain conditions. These conditions are: 1) equal status for each group member(s), 2) work toward a common goal, 3) with a shared joint effort between the two groups, 4) achievement of the goal, and 5) sanctioning of the contact by an authority figure (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Cook, 1984; Devine et al., 1996; Jones, 1997; Stephan, 1987; Worchel, 1986).

Problems with Contact Hypothesis Research

Recently the contact hypothesis has been subject to scrutiny, and critics of the contact hypothesis have been quite cynical (Stephan, 1987; Devine et al., 1996). According to Stephan (1987), the contact hypothesis has too many preconditions to be a realistic way to reduce prejudice. It is unrealistically optimistic to assume that the five requirements are easily accomplished in the real world. For example, the divisions between the socioeconomic statuses prevent people of different classes from being equal, and authority figures are often not concerned about the quality of intergroup interactions. Moreover, goals are not always accomplished; sometimes new immediate dilemmas replace old goals. In addition, Hewstone and colleagues state that the contact must not be at the individual level, but rather at the intergroup level, because an individual often does not represent the whole group (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Furthermore, contact can increase conflict if the requirements fall short of fulfillment (Worchel, 1986).

Devine and colleagues (1996) add two other points to Stephan's criticisms of the contact hypothesis. These relate to: 1) ignoring the minority groups, and 2) prejudice reduction (as opposed to a decrease in anxiety) as the most commonly used measure of success. On the first point, Devine et al. point out that research on intergroup interactions fails to take an interest in the minority group members, who have their own attitudes and expectations which certainly play a role in contact situations. Members of the minority group presumably also have their own stereotypes and prejudices, possibly leading to an uncomfortable encounter with members of the majority group. Moreover, the members of two different groups may not even speak to each other because of these stereotypes; members of each group may feel as though they should not

have to initiate the interaction. On their second point, Devine et al. agree that a change of negative racial attitude toward a positive attitude is important. However, they argue that there is more to the solution than a change of attitude. For example, although a member of the majority group may not feel negative towards an out-group member, the individual may feel discomfort or anxiety during the interaction, which are also problematic. Devine and colleagues also mention that intergroup studies neglect other relevant variables such as individual levels of prejudice and motivation for both majority and minority groups, minority group member expectations of prejudice, the majority group member's ability to be non-prejudice, and the goal of the interaction of both parties. A more fruitful approach to the question of how to reduce intergroup conflict may come from focusing on dyadic interactions between members of conflicting groups.

Dyadic Interactions and the Study of Intergroup Conflict

A dyadic interaction is an encounter between two people. Dyadic interactions occur in everyday situations between members of different groups often as brief conversations. It is during these "small talk" conversations where the majority of prejudice and stereotyping might occur (Devine et al., 1996). Exploring interactions at a dyadic level allows realistic evaluation of attitudes, prejudice, and behavior of individuals. Moreover, the attitudes and motivations of the interaction partners are likely inclined to intermingle with one another in determining the quality of the intergroup interaction. An important element in the outcome of the encounter is the correspondence between the goals and expectations of the dyad partners' (Devine et al., 1996). If they are motivated in opposite ways, there is likely to be a clash and the interaction would not go smoothly. For example, if one of the dyad partners is prejudiced and the other partner is expecting prejudice, this would lend to an uncomfortable situation for both persons.

A Brief History of Research on Intergroup Interactions

Research on intergroup interactions shows that: White participants are hesitant to approach their Black interaction partner (Dennis & Powell, 1972; Willis, 1966). They sit farther away during the encounter (Hendrick & Bootzin, 1976; Word, Zanna, Copper, 1974), and they make less eye contact and show shorter gazes with a Black rather than a White interaction partner (Fugita, Wexley & Hillery, 1974; LaFrance & Mayo, 1976; Word et al., 1974). Fugita and colleagues (1974) examined authority roles; they placed a Black or a White person in a position of authority at different times over, respectively, Black and White participants (1974; Simpson, Strong, & Stanley, 1986). White participants made more eye contact than the Black participants did, regardless the race of the authority figure. Another interesting finding shows race-related questions resulting in increased looking time by both Black and White participants; moreover, responses to such questions were delayed, which suggests that Black and White Americans are uneasy speaking about race (e.g., Franklin & Moss, 1994; Jones, 1997).

Ickes (1984) studied dyads of unstructured interactions. His findings revealed White dyad members were more talkative, smiled more, and gazed longer than their Black partners. In spite of this, the White participants reported experiencing more discomfort and stress during the encounter. This research demonstrates clearly that in relatively unstructured encounters, Black and White appear uncomfortable, and their interactions appear strained.

Although informative, early research on intergroup interactions did not consistently assess individual differences in expectations, stereotypes, goals, and prejudice. With the exception of Ickes (1984), it also ignored the anxiety and discomfort that we argue substantially influences the quality of intergroup interactions. Recent research has examined the role of

automatic and controlled processes in intergroup interactions (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson & Howard, 1997; Olson & Fazio, 1999). Automatic responses are often unconscious, difficult to prevent from initiating, and effortless; controlled responses are conscious, can be prevented from initiating, can be stopped at anytime, and require some effort. Dovidio et al. discussed the different components of attitudes as automatic and controlled. In their studies, White participants completed both implicit (automatic) and explicit (controlled) measures of attitudes toward Blacks. The implicit measure was a priming task with Black and White faces as primes, and automatically-activated racial attitudes. The explicit measure of prejudice was a paper-pencil measure of racial attitudes and values. The implicit measure predicted more automatic and less controllable behaviors; a correlation was found between the implicit measure and the amount of eye contact White participants made with the Black confederate—more negative attitudes led to less eye contact, as well as more blinking. The explicit measure predicted self- reports of the quality of the interaction and claimed liking for a Black interaction partner. In sum, automatic and controlled prejudices argue to be different contributors to intergroup interactions. Implicit scores were reflected in less controllable and subtler forms of behavior, and explicit scores were predictive of more controllable responses such as overt liking measures.

Olson and Fazio (1999) provide a somewhat different explanation of a similar study. This study involved having White participants provide oral evaluations of four candidates for the Peace Corps while being video taped (the participants were told other students, who would play the role of a selection committee, would view the video tape and use them to make a hiring decision). Of the four applicants, one was a White male and one was a Black male (as indicated by photo attached to the written applications). The coding of the evaluations and videotapes for

verbal and nonverbal behavior replicated the coding in the Dovidio et al. (1997) study. However, the Olson and Fazio (1999) study was more thorough in their coding for what they called "self-regulators" (discomfort and anxiety, e.g. fidgeting and scratching). Before the participants came into the lab to evaluate the candidates, they completed a measure of their automatically-activated racial attitudes (Fazio et al., 1995). Thus, for each participant, they had the assessed an estimate of racial attitudes, private evaluations of each candidate, and non-verbal behaviors were available. Olson and Fazio (1999) found that when there was a match between participants' evaluations of the particular Black candidate and their general attitudes toward Blacks, they were most comfortable. When mismatched, signs of discomfort were apparent, i.e., increases in fidgeting and reduced eye contact. For example, participants with negatively automatically-activated racial attitudes, but a positive evaluation of the Black candidate, and positively automatically-activated racial attitudes, but a negative evaluation of this particular Black, had an increase in fidgeting and a decrease in eye contact. Participants with negatively automatically-activated racial attitudes and negative evaluations of the Black candidate, and positively automatically-activated racial attitudes and positive evaluations of the Black candidate appeared much more comfortable while talking about the Black relative to the White. It is important to note for the purposes of the present study that a decrease in eye contact showed the same pattern as a self-regulator; indicating that eye contact too may indicate discomfort, not negativity.

In sum, recent advances in intergroup studies suggest two conclusions: 1) majority group members express more avoidant nonverbal behavior during intergroup interactions than during intragroup interactions, and 2) they report more feelings of discomfort and anxiety after the

initial intergroup interaction (Devine et al., 1996). In the present study, we hope to understand the quality of intergroup dyadic interactions as a function of attitudes and motivation.

Overview and Predictions

The study reported here involves three separate sessions, with the last session involving the intergroup contact situation. During the first session, participants complete the explicit measure of their motivation to control prejudice reactions during an in-class pre-screening session (Dunton & Fazio, 1997). The second session assesses automatically-activated racial attitudes through an implicit priming task (Fazio et al., 1995). A few weeks later for the third session, participants return to the lab and were introduced to video e-mail, a video and audio message like a traditional e-mail via the Internet. Each participant then interacts with two individuals, one Black and one White, who were purportedly located at another University. The subject is led to believe that we were interested in first impressions people make of one another over video e-mail. Their interaction partners are actually pre-recorded confederates.

The primary prediction is that people who have negative automatically-activated racial attitudes (AARA), as assessed by the priming task, and high motivation to control prejudice reactions (MCPR), will show the most discomfort (e.g. show least eye contact, more gaze aversions, more self-touching, etc.). Three secondary predictions are: First, individuals who exhibit positive AARA and high MCPR will be so motivated to have a smooth experience with the Black interaction partner that they will exhibit discomfort (e.g. closer orientation to the camera, and fidget more frequently). Second, individuals who show negative AARA and low MCPR will be comfortable in front of the camera because they are comfortable being prejudiced.

Third, individuals who show positive AARA and low MCPR will be comfortable in front of the camera because they may be not prejudiced.

Method

Participants

Eighty non-Black undergraduate participants from Introductory Psychology 100 courses at The Ohio State University took part in this study in return for course credit. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 24 year olds. The 80 participants were chosen because they completed the questionnaire packet they received in class (which included the MCPR) and were non-Black.

Design

The design is mixed, with two continuous between subject variables (automatically-activated racial attitudes, and motivation to control prejudice reactions). There is also one dichotomous within subject variable (race of interaction partner). Key dependent variables are the nonverbal behaviors and the judges' ratings of the participants' video emails.

Materials

The Motivation to Control Prejudice Reactions scale (MCPR) is a 17-item questionnaire. Examples of the questions are: "It's never acceptable to express one's prejudices", and "If I have a prejudice feeling, I keep it to my self." The measurement scale used is a Likert scale from –3

to 3, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Fazio & Towels-Schwen, 1999).

The automatically-activated racial attitudes priming measure is completely computerized on a 17" monitor. Responses are recorded by a computer where reaction times are recorded when the participants push one of the two corresponding buttons (one labeled "good" and the other "bad") on the response box.

The video email apparatus consists of a 17" monitor, a web-cam and microphone, and two hidden video surveillance cameras. A mouse was used to start and stop viewing, and recording the emails.

Procedure

The first session consisted of the completion of the MCPR in Introductory Psychology 100 classes. The second session involved the recruitment of the participants to the lab to complete a priming measure of AARA, which involves photographs of persons Black and White followed by different (positive or negative) adjectives (e.g., "pleasant" or "lazy"), (e.g., Fazio et al., 1995; Greenwald et al., 1989; Perdue et al., 1990). The images and words flash on a computer screen in the lab viewed by the participants. On a given trial, a prime (a Black or White face) flashed on a computer screen for 315 milliseconds (ms). The instructions asked the participants to attend to the faces for a later recall task. There were twenty-four target words (half positive and half negative), and thirty-two faces (half Black, half White, half female and half male) each followed by two positive and two negative words resulting in forty-eight trials in four blocks. After a delay of 135 ms, a target word appeared. The participants identified the adjective as a positive or negative word by pressing one of two buttons on a response box. This

measurement tool assessed automatically-activated racial attitudes. After completing the priming measure, participants had the option to sign up for another study in the lab for credit.

Participants who agreed to participate returned to the lab in 1-3 weeks for the third session, video e-mail. Upon returning to the lab, participants were told we were interested in first impressions during communication through video e-mail; participants also understood that this was an experiment in conjunction with another University. The participants spoke facing the web cam (a device used to record video e-mail) and the microphone (an additional camera and audio recorder were hidden). The participants then composed a mock video e-mail to one of their friends to familiarize themselves with the equipment and the notion of a recorded video email interaction.

After the participants completed the mock interaction, the interactions of experimental interest had begun. There were two interactions with two males, one Black and one White (half of the participants interacted with the Black first, the other half interacted with the White first). A participant first received e-mail from one of the targets describing either his university or favorite place to eat (actual discussion from targets is a pre-recorded confederate read from a rehearsed script). Each confederate made two recorded emails, one for each of the two topics. Then the participant sent a response on the same topic. While supposedly waiting for the next interaction partner to send his video e-mail, the participant filled out a series of questionnaires (aimed to assess evaluations and impressions of the interaction partner, currently felt emotions, and impressions of the quality of the interaction, because no significant results emerged from this measure it will not be discussed further). The participants repeated the process with the second interaction partner (half the participants responded to the university topic first, the other half responded to the favorite place to eat topic first). The hidden video camera and audio recorder

will be on for the duration of the experimental session, enabling examination of all non-verbal and verbal behaviors through all stages of the experiment. All recorded data under went a series of coding and judging for signs of anxiety and negativity.

Results

Data preparation

Motivation to Control Prejudice Reactions Scale. Participants completed the MCPR in-class during a prescreening process, N = 370. The scale makes two assessments for each participant, "Concern for Acting Prejudice" and "Restraint to Avoid Dispute." Using the varimax rotation, the two factors appeared in a principal component analysis of all mass survey participants. Factor scores for each participant were calculated from the above-mentioned analysis.

Attitude Estimates. The second session performed in the research involved the students completing a priming task. The task estimated the participant's automatically-activated racial attitudes as described by Fazio et al. (1995). Averaging the latency of the two presentations of each adjective in phase one resulted in the baseline latency index for each participant. The baseline latency was subtracted from each adjective's presentation during the priming phase, formulating a score for each face-adjective association. Critical facilitation scores were computed from the mean facilitation scores on the two positive and two negative adjectives for each Black and White face, leading to thirty-two scores (sixteen for Black faces and sixteen for White faces) for each participant. A prejudiced person will be quick to identify positive adjectives preceded by White faces and negative adjectives preceded by Black faces; a

prejudiced person will also be slow to respond to a positive adjective preceded by Black faces and negative adjective followed by White faces.

An ANOVA was used to calculate an attitude index from a race of photo X valence of adjective interaction for each participant. Negative scores reveal a greater association in responding to negative adjectives following Black faces and a lesser association for positive adjectives following Black faces. Positive scores reveal a greater association in responding to positive adjectives following White faces and a lesser association for negative adjectives following White faces.

Non-verbal Coding. Two coders, who were naïve to the race of the interaction partners, coded the video e-mails recorded by each subject during the third session, for non-verbal behavior. The non-verbal behaviors coded include gaze aversions (the frequencies of times a participant looks into the camera and then looks away), self-touch (the number of times a participant has a manipulation of the body, i.e. scratching, rubbing, playing with the hair), and looking time (the total amount of time the participant spent looking into the camera) for each video. Each variable was controlled for the length of the email by dividing each value by the length of each video. Each participant received an average score across the two coders for each of the coded variables for both the Black and White interaction partner. The two coders' estimates were correlated between .78 and .95. The difference between the scores, White subtracted from the Black scores was calculated for each of the coded non-verbal behaviors.

Non-verbal Judging. Twelve to fifteen judges rated the video emails for each participant. The judges were naïve to the race of the interaction partner because the judges were only able to see the web-cam emails from each participant. The judgment required the judges to compare between the two videos (Black vs. White interaction partner) for each participant. Judges rated

the participants on three variables: 1) Which interaction partner they seemed to like more, 2) In which email did the subject seem more comfortable, and 3) In which email did the subject seem to reveal more about his or herself (e.g., say more about themselves, disclose more personal information). The judges correlated between .72 and .80. Judges' responses were averaged such that higher numbers indicated more positive behaviors associated with the White interaction partner compared to the Black.

Effects of Interaction Partner

Non-verbal Coding. The coding of the nonverbal behaviors revealed no significant differences as a function of the participants' interaction partners.

Judges. The judges found the participants to like the White interaction partner compared to the Black, M .23, SD = 1.00, t (58) = 1.76, p = .08. This also holds true for the appearing more comfortable as well as disclosing more information. The judges perceived the participants to be more comfortable with the White compared to the Black interaction partner, M = .27, SD = 1.06, t (58) = 2.00, p = .04. The judges also viewed the participants as disclosing more information to the White interaction partner compared to the Black, M = .21, SD = 1.01, t (58) = 1.64, p = .09. These responses were highly correlated (r > .70), so the average of these items was computed, and their mean reflected a bias in favor of the White interaction partner, M = .047, SD = 1.06, t (58) = 2.03, p = .04.

Correlations. There were nine variables correlated against each other individually. These variables include: 1) racial attitudes (Black minus White), 2) motivation (concern), 3) motivation (restraint), 4) self-touch (Black minus White, over time), 5) mean of judges' rating of likeability, 6) mean of judges' rating of relative comfort, 7) mean of judges' rating of relative disclosure, 8) gaze aversions (Black minus White, over time) and, 9) look time (Black minus White, over time

(seconds)). The more negative racial attitudes towards Blacks related to more self-touching, therefore; the more prejudiced the participant, the more times the participant self-touched with the Black interaction partner. A correlation also appeared between the participants' concern motivation and the amount of time spent looking at each interaction partner. Participants with a high concern tended to look less at the Black interaction partner compared to the White.

As seen in Table 1, the participants gazed more into the web-cam when they seemed to like the White interaction partner more then the Black. In addition to the participants gazing more when they seemed to like the White more, they also gazed more when they appeared to be more comfortable with the White compared to the Black interaction partner. Strong negative correlations existed between the amount of time the participant looked into the web-cam and the extent to which the way the participants seemed to like, be more comfortable, and disclosed more information with the White compared to the Black interaction partner. These correlations showed the participants to look less the more they seemed to like, feel more comfortable and reveal more about themselves to the White interaction partner compared to the Black. The participants tended to self-touch more when they looked into the web-cam more. A negative correlation existed with the amount of self-touching and the likeability of the White interaction partner compared to the Black. In addition to that negative correlation another negative correlation existed between self-touching and comfort with the Black compared to the White interaction partner, where more self-touching was viewed as being less comfortable. The judges' questions were all highly correlated with one another. Likeability and comfort of the participant towards the White compared to Black interaction partner showed a strong correlation. Likeability was also strongly correlated with disclosure of personal information by the participants toward the White compared to Black interaction partner. Disclosure of personal

information and comfort toward the White compared to Black interaction partner were also highly correlated.

Interactions between Attitudes and Motivation Factors. We investigated the interaction between attitudes and motivation predicting the key dependent variables using multiple regression. Effects were found on nonverbal behavior such that the Attitudes X Concern Factor and Attitudes X Restraint Factor interactions both predicted self-touching, $t(52) = 2.02$, $p < .05$, and $t(52) = 1.86$, $p = .07$, respectively (refer to Figures 1 & 2). Low motivation and negative racial attitudes toward Blacks led to the most self-touching, while positive attitudes led to moderate self-touching.

There was an Attitudes X Concern Factor interaction predicting the judges' comfort question ("Which interaction partner did the participant seem more comfortable with?"), $t(52) = 1.74$, $p < .08$ (refer to Figure 3). High concern and negative racial attitudes toward Blacks led to the most discomfort while interacting with the Black, according to the judges, while positive attitudes led to a moderate level of comfort for both high and low concern individuals. There were no Attitude X Motivation interactions predicting any of the nonverbal coded behaviors.

Discussion

In the present research, we examined the quality of intergroup interactions as a function of motivation to control prejudice and racial attitudes. The White participants appeared more comfortable speaking with the White confederate compared to the Black. Moreover, comfort

levels while interacting with the Black relative to the White differed by the interaction of the attitudes and motivation according to the naïve video judges who assessed the behavior of each participant's comfort levels while interacting individually with both confederates. The judges' rated higher levels of self-touching as signs of discomfort, self-touching seemed to view the participants as being less rigid during these interactions. Specifically, the results indicated participants with negative racial attitudes (prejudice) and a high concern motivation appeared the most uncomfortable speaking to the Black confederate compared to the White.

The judges noticed the concern motivation but not the restraint motivation when rating the interactions, in terms of interaction with racial attitudes. Therefore, it appeared to the judges that the restraining motivation does not predict levels of comfort. For some of the participants this might have been the first time they have had to contain their natural responses because this might have been the first time they were dealing with a Black person. For other participants, they might have been comfortable containing their prejudice motivations because they have had contact with Black people. This dichotomy between participants who are able to mask or reveal their comfort may have made it impossible for the judges to predict whether high or low restraint individuals were more comfortable during their interaction. High restraint motivation participants may be better at concealing discomfort.

Comment [MO1]: Not sure what you mean by "restrain themselves from their motivations"

An interesting finding is the link between the motivation and both self-touching and the judges' rating of comfort for people with negative racial attitudes. The motivation appeared to suffocate the self-touching nonverbal behavior, and the judges seemed to view the relative frequency of self-touching as linked with discomfort. Motivation seemed to make the participants more rigid, leading them to a reduction in nonverbal behavior, specifically self-touching. The judges were able to notice signs of discomfort as a function of concern; it

appeared as if though the higher the participants' concern, the more rigid the participants seemed to the judges.

The judges' ratings were pivotal in this study; they were responsible for interpreting the participants' behavior. More importantly, they were judging comfort levels when non-Black participants were interacting individually with both a Black and White confederate. Future research may expand this idea of judges by having an all Black panel, concluding whether or not Black people are capable of noticing discomfort better than Whites. If Black people notice the levels of discomfort, this may be vital in the quality of intergroup interactions.

The present research raises important questions on intergroup interactions. The first of these being, how does this research support the notion of reducing prejudice? It was clear from the data that the participants did not spend significantly more time talking to the White confederate compared to the Black confederate. This suggests that forced one-on-one interactions may reduce prejudice by making people deal with themselves and their prejudice. Having people interact with a member of a group they are prejudiced toward may reduce the stereotypes that hinder a successful communication between members of two different groups. The more people learn that people are people regardless of the group they are associated with, the greater the likelihood that there will be a reduction in prejudice. The only way for people to recognize we are all the same species is by interacting with members of a different group, which in turn produces the realization that they are no different from us. The participants' concern to appear not prejudice seems to be interfering with the quality of the interaction because the participants high in concern seem too uptight and may just need to relax. The participants high in concern and negative racial attitudes self-touched less and were rated by the judges as

exhibiting the most discomfort. These participants were viewed as rigid because were stiff in front of the camera.

Another important question is how do we promote intergroup interactions? The data suggests that members of different groups need to be willing to interact with one another, because during these interactions people notice signs of comfort. People tend to mimic the behavior of their interaction partner (Word, Zanna & Cooper, 1974). It would be imperative to assess the Blacks' expectations before interacting with the White confederate, in order to rule out any self-fulfilling prophecies. For example, if the Black participants expect the White confederate to act in a prejudice manner, then the Black participants may act in stereotypical Black fashion (i.e. hostile). Therefore, signs of comfort will allow the interaction to go along smoothly. The ability to feel comfortable in a situation should allow the interaction to develop into a healthy communication where the persons involved can ignore any prejudiced beliefs, permitting themselves to learn about each other. Setting aside these prejudiced beliefs for a brief moment may inhibit long-term stereotypical beliefs. It appears that a reduction in motivation may lead to greater levels of comfort. This reduction in motivation may stem from greater exposure and contact with members of different groups.

Comment [MO2]: Not sure what you mean by "portraying"

Comment [MO3]: Ok, so how do we get people to feel more comfortable. Well, concern motivation seemed to make people LESS comfortable if they had negative attitudes, so should we try to get people to be less motivated?

The problem with this research as well as much of the research done on intergroup interactions is the ignoring of the minority group. The view of the minority is an integral part of understanding prejudice and its effect on the quality of intergroup interactions. Future research may use all Black participants that are available, no longer ignoring the minority group. It would be interesting to see how Black people would react in the same situation as the participants in this study.

In conclusion, this study has viewed interactions of non-Blacks with both a Black and White confederate, individually. Comfort during these interactions was assessed as a function of racial attitudes and motivation to control prejudiced reactions. These participants appeared more comfortable interacting with the White interaction partner compared to the Black partner. The present research is promising in finding ways to reduce prejudice by first examining the factors involved in prejudice. Understanding the contributing factors to prejudice helps in finding ways to improve the quality of intergroup interactions.

References

Allport, G. W. (1954). The Nature of Prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Amir, Y. (1969). Contact Hypothesis of Ethnic Relations. Psychological Bulletin, 71, 319-343.

Cook, S. W. (1984). Cooperative interaction in multiethnic contexts. In N. Miller & N. B. Brewer (Eds.), Groups in Contact: The Psychology of Desegregation. New York: Academic Press.

Dennis, V. C., & Powell, E. R. (1972). Nonverbal communication in across-race dyads. Proceedings of the 80th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 7, Part 2, 557-558.

Devine, P.G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. Journal pf Personality and Social Psychology, 56, 5-18.

Devine, P. G., Evett, S. R., & Vasquex-Suson, K. A. (1996). Exploring the interpersonal; dynamics of intergroup contact. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), Handbook of Motivation and Cognition: The Interpersonal Context (Vol. 3). New York: Guilford.

Dovidio, J.F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33, 510-540.

Dunton, B. C., and Fazio, R. H. (1997). An Individual Difference Measure of Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23, 316-326.

Fazio, R.H., & Towles-Schwen, T. (1999). The MODE model of attitude-behavior processes. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual Process Theories in Social*

Psychology (pp. 97-116). New York: Guilford.

Fazio, R. H., Jackson, J. R., Dunton, B. C., & Williams, C. J. (1995). Variability in Automatic Activation as an Unobtrusive Measure of Racial Attitudes: A Bona Fide Pipeline? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 69, 1013-1027.

Franklin, J. H., & Moss, A. A. (1994). From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African-Americans, seventh edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fugita, S. S., Wexley, K. N., & Hillery, J. M. (1974). Black-White differences in nonverbal behavior in an interview setting. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 4, 343-350.

Hendricks M., & Bootzin, R. (1976). Race and sex as stimuli for negative affect and physical avoidance. Journal of Social Psychology, 98, 111-120.

Hewstone, M. & Brown, R. J. (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the contact hypothesis. In M. Hewstone and R. J. Brown (Eds.), Contact and Conflict in Group Interactions (pp. 1-44). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Ickes, W. (1984). Compositions in black and white: Determinants of interactions in interracial dyads. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 47, 330-341.

Jones, J. J. (1997). Prejudice and Racism, second edition. New York: McGraw-Hill.

LaFrance, M., & Mayo, C. (1976). Racial differences in gazing behavior during conversations: Two systematic observational studies. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 33, 547-552.

Leary, M. R. (1983). Understanding Social Anxiety: Social, Personality, and Clinical Perspectives. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Olson, M. A., & Fazio, R. H. (1999). Trait Inferences as a Function of Automatically activated Racial Attitudes and Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions. Paper presented at the May Meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

Simpson, A., Strong, S. R., & Stanley, R. (1986). Effects of prejudice and power on influence and attribution. Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 4, 423-432.

Stephan, W. C. (1987). The contact hypothesis in intergroup relations. In C. Hendrick (Ed.), Processes and Intergroup Relations: Review of Personality and Social Psychology (Vol. 9, pp. 13-40). Newbury Park: Sage.

Stephan, W. C., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. Journal of Social Issues, 41, 157-175.

Willis, F. N. (1966). Initial speaking distance as a function of the speakers relationship. Psychonomic Science, 5, 221-222.

Worchel, S. (1986). The role of cooperation in reducing intergroup conflict. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), Psychology of Intergroup Relations (second edition, pp. 288-304). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Word, C. O., Zanna, M. P., & Cooper, J. (1974). The nonverbal behavior mediation of self-fulfilling prophecies in interracial interaction. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 10, 109-120.

Table 1

Correlations between variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
				n= 59					
1. Racial Attitudes	-	-0.019	-0.071	-0.254*	-0.15	-0.155	-0.131	0.01	0.011
2. Concern		-	-0.017	-0.119	0.109	0.106	-0.128	0.058	-.287*
3. Restraint			-	-0.036	0.005	-0.031	0.149	0.1	0.006
4. Self-touching				-	-.316*	-.295*	-0.162	-.118	.351**
5. Judges' Rate of Likeability					-	0.928**	.720**	.261*	-.483**
6. Judges' Rate of Comfort						-	.702**	.317*	-.436**
7. Judges' Rate of Disclosure							-	0.082	.301*
8. Gaze Aversions								-	-.076
9. Look Time									-

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

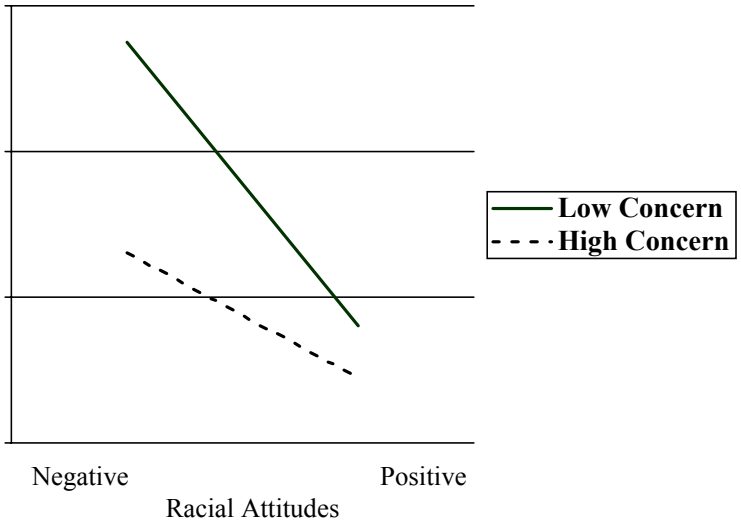
Figure Captions

Figure 1. Self-touching for Black relative to White interaction partners as a function of automatically-activated racial attitudes and concern motivation to control prejudice reactions.

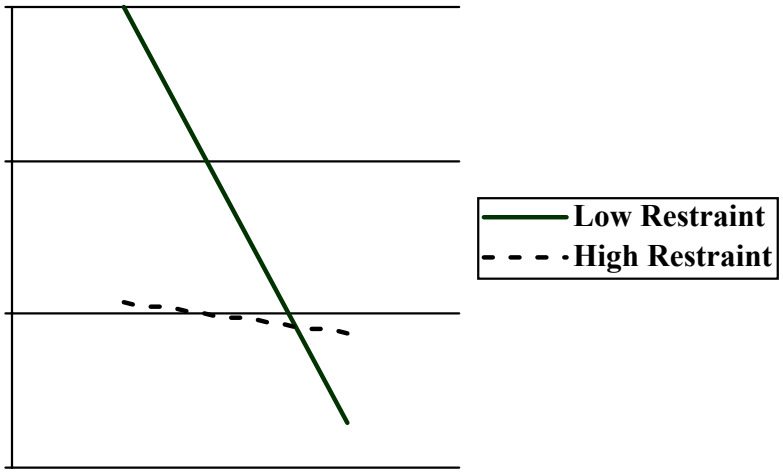
Figure 2. Self-touching for Black relative to White interaction partners as a function of automatically-activated racial attitudes and restraint motivation to control prejudice reactions.

Figure 3. The judges' responses to comfort levels for Black relative to White interaction partners as a function of automatically-activated racial attitudes and concern motivation to control prejudice reactions.

Predicting Nonverbal: self-touching
t (52) = 2.02, p < .05



Predicting Nonverbal: self-touching
$\underline{t}$ (52) = 1.86, $\underline{p}$ < .07



Negative Positive
Racial Attitudes

Predicting Judges' responses: "Comfort"
$\underline{t}$ (52) = 1.74, $\underline{p}$ < .08